:: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in. 114

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information. 12

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance. 123 124

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This 114 [361] [133]

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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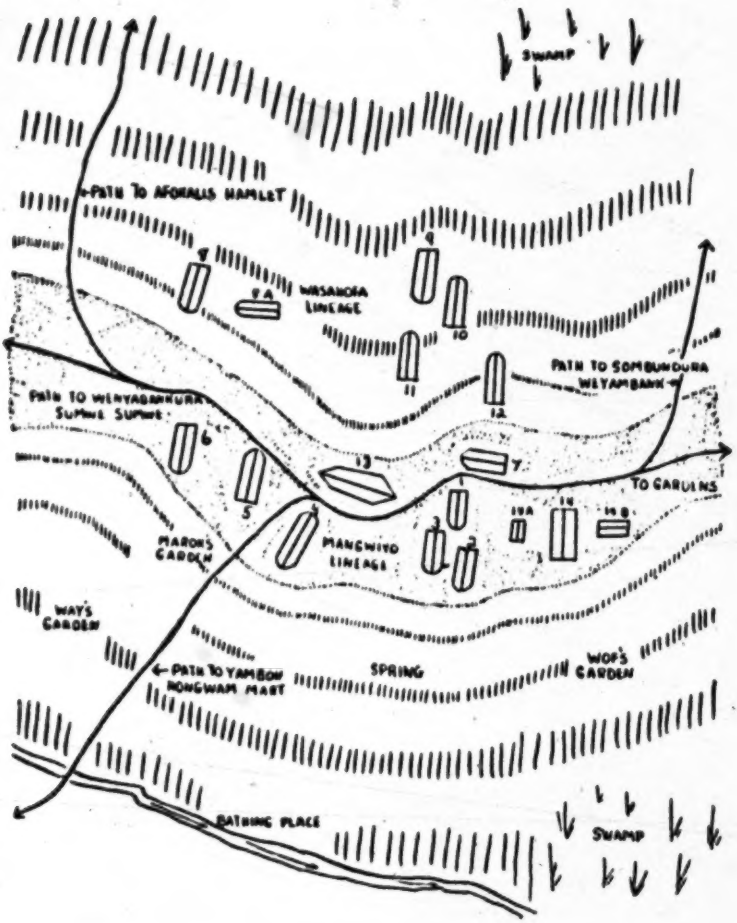

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] [156] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham[124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowai people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
[191] of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangvishamp, the
Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwom. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwom, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

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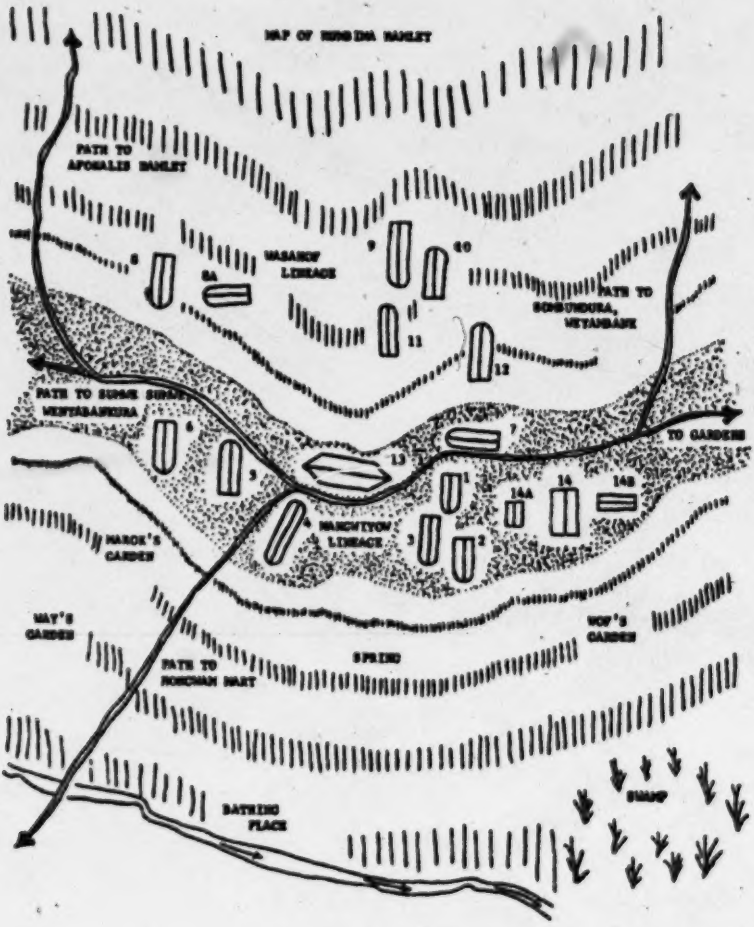
MAP OF SUNDIMA HAMLET
PATH TO APOSALIS HAMLET
WASAKW LINEAGE
PATH TO SUNDUNDURA, METAMBANE
PATH TO SUNDE SUNDE METAMBANKURA
TO GARDENS
MANCHIYOW LINEAGE
MAROK'S GARDEN
MAT'S GARDEN
WOP'S GARDEN
SPRING
PATH TO NORCMAN HART
BATHING PLACE
SWAMP

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwem subtribe are the Manyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayemakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayemakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 592 361 [613] [114] Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son May (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Yowaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. Hard-Analyst]

621 Eriya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an
592 adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, was a lad
361 just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 3). With him lived his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). Mar, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he had three children: Mana, and Maya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Kum, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned from working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Difa and Yama, but no children. His, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stood that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafa and Gogo, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling was one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mwinkwi, his two adolescent daughters, Fumbe and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Marik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also had taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takwur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house was the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), whom about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Mawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mas, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Timbe, who was the wife of Mas and a niece of Wof. * Mas had started to build a house for himself and Timbe near that of his father. There were no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Kwobina.

A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house was the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He was married to a woman named Ofo, and they had two boys, Angwadin, a young child, and Angamar, an infant. Kwal's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

621 592 361 elder brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Hawoas, and two girl children, Kayamaka and Yaoaka. These two families comprised the second line of the Waashof lineage.

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempɛe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɛe is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

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settle with the Hongwam. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

648 464 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 524 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. [334] [372] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] [361] [252] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. Mar also spit and mumbled.